ANNUAL CONTENTS
VOLUME XXI

Vol. XXI, No. 1 Autumn 1991 Issue 81

ARTICLES

The Palestine Problem: An Overview ..... *Walid Khalidi* 5
The Impact of the Gulf War on Israeli and Palestinian Political Attitudes ..... *Don Peretz* 17
Palestinians on the Peace Process ..... *Fouad Moughrabi, Elia Zureik, Manuel Hassassian, and Aziz Haidar* 36
The PLO at the Crossroads ..... *Lamis Andoni* 54

Debate on the 1948 Exodus

Myths, Old and New ..... *Norman Finkelstein* 66
A Critique of Benny Morris ..... *Nur Masalha* 90
Response to Finkelstein and Masalha ..... *Benny Morris* 98

Letter from Jerusalem: Full Steam Ahead in the West Bank .... *Geoffrey Aronson* 115
Letter from Kuwait City: End of an Era ..... *Michael Dumper* 120

RECENT BOOKS 124

Salinger and Laurent: Secret Dossier: The Hidden Agenda Behind the Gulf War *reviewed by Donald Neff* 124
Seale: Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East *reviewed by Yahya Sadowski* 125
Shlaim: The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists, and Palestine 1921-1951 *reviewed by Kathleen Christison* 126
Telhami: Power and Leadership in International Bargaining: The Path to the Camp David Accords *reviewed by Fred H. Lawson* 128
Lavie: The Poetics of Military Occupation: Mzeina Allegories of Bedouin Identity Under Israeli and Egyptian Rule *reviewed by Inea Bushnaq* 130
Yasin: Journalism and the Political Life in Palestine 1907-48 *reviewed by Majid Kayyali* 132
Bisharat: Palestinian Lawyers and Israeli Rule: Law and Disorder in the West Bank, *and* Benvenisti: Legal Dualism: The Absorption of the Occupied Territories into Israel *reviewed by Julie Peteet* 132
Evron: War and Intervention in Lebanon, *and* Yaniv: Dilemmas of Security: Politics, Strategy, and the Israeli Experience in Lebanon *reviewed by Fred H. Lawson* 134
Freedman: Moscow and the Middle East: Soviet Policy Since the Invasion of Afghanistan, *and* Soviet Policy Toward Israel Under Gorbachev *reviewed by Leenah al-Qattan* 137

SPECIAL DOCUMENT

The Evolving United States Response to Soviet Jewish Emigration . *Gregg A. Beyer* 139

ANNUAL CONTENTS
VOLUME XXI

Vol. XXI, No. 1 Autumn 1991 Issue 81

ARTICLES

The Palestine Problem: An Overview ..... *Walid Khalidi* 5
The Impact of the Gulf War on Israeli and Palestinian Political Attitudes ..... *Don Peretz* 17
Palestinians on the Peace Process ..... *Fouad Moughrabi, Elia Zureik, Manuel Hassassian, and Aziz Haidar* 36
The PLO at the Crossroads ..... *Lamis Andoni* 54

Debate on the 1948 Exodus

Myths, Old and New ..... *Norman Finkelstein* 66
A Critique of Benny Morris ..... *Nur Masalha* 90
Response to Finkelstein and Masalha ..... *Benny Morris* 98

Letter from Jerusalem: Full Steam Ahead in the West Bank .... *Geoffrey Aronson* 115
Letter from Kuwait City: End of an Era ..... *Michael Dumper* 120

RECENT BOOKS 124

Salinger and Laurent: Secret Dossier: The Hidden Agenda Behind the Gulf War *reviewed by Donald Neff* 124
Seale: Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East *reviewed by Yahya Sadowski* 125
Shlaim: The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists, and Palestine 1921-1951 *reviewed by Kathleen Christison* 126
Telhami: Power and Leadership in International Bargaining: The Path to the Camp David Accords *reviewed by Fred H. Lawson* 128
Lavie: The Poetics of Military Occupation: Mzeina Allegories of Bedouin Identity Under Israeli and Egyptian Rule *reviewed by Inea Bushnaq* 130
Yasin: Journalism and the Political Life in Palestine 1907-48 *reviewed by Majid Kayyali* 132
Bisharat: Palestinian Lawyers and Israeli Rule: Law and Disorder in the West Bank, *and* Benvenisti: Legal Dualism: The Absorption of the Occupied Territories into Israel *reviewed by Julie Peteet* 132
Evron: War and Intervention in Lebanon, *and* Yaniv: Dilemmas of Security: Politics, Strategy, and the Israeli Experience in Lebanon *reviewed by Fred H. Lawson* 134
Freedman: Moscow and the Middle East: Soviet Policy Since the Invasion of Afghanistan, *and* Soviet Policy Toward Israel Under Gorbachev *reviewed by Leenah al-Qattan* 137

SPECIAL DOCUMENT

The Evolving United States Response to Soviet Jewish Emigration . *Gregg A. Beyer* 139

DOCUMENTS AND SOURCE MATERIAL 157

International

A1. Amnesty International Report 1991, "Israel and the Occupied Territories," London, July 1991 157
A2. Group of Seven, Political Declaration, Excerpts on the Middle East, London, 16 July 1991 159
A3. U.S.-Soviet Joint Statement on the Middle East, Moscow, 31 July 1991 160
A4. Islamic Conference Organization Foreign Ministers Meeting, Final Communiqué, Istanbul, 10 August 1991 (excerpts) 161

Arab

B1. Al-Haq, "Urban Planning in the West Bank Under Military Occupation: Summary Report," Ramallah, West Bank, June 1991 (excerpts) 163
B2. Opinion Poll of Kuwaiti Attitudes on International Relations, Kuwait, 30 June 1991 167
B3. Palestinian Questions on the Peace Process Submitted to Secretary Baker and U.S. Officials, Jerusalem, 21 July 1991 168
B4. Syrian Understanding of U.S. Commitments on the Peace Conference, Damascus, 22 July 1991 169
B5. Five-Point Palestinian Document Submitted to Secretary Baker, Jerusalem, 2 August 1991 169
B6. PLO Executive Committee, Statement on the Peace Process, Tunis, 8 August 1991 170
B7. Zakariya al-Agha, Account of "Broad Lines" of Proposed U.S.-Palestinian Memorandum of Understanding, Jerusalem, 8 August 1991 170

Israel

C1. Peace Now, "Government Investment in the Settlements in the Occupied Territories," Jerusalem, May 1991 172
C2. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Letter to President Bush, Jerusalem, June 1991 178
C3. Peace Now, "Dead End: Building Roads to Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip," Jerusalem, July 1991 179
C4. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Interview on the Peace Process, Jerusalem, 24 July 1991 (excerpts) 181
C5. Draft U.S.-Israeli Memorandum of Understanding, Jerusalem, 2 August 1991 182

United States

D1. President Gerald Ford, Letter to Prime Minister Rabin on the Golan Heights, Washington, D.C., 1 September 1975 183
D2. President George Bush, Letter to Prime Minister Shamir on the Peace Conference, Washington, D.C., 1 June 1991 184
D3. President George Bush, Press Conference, Excerpts on Settlements and the Peace Process, Kennebunkport, Maine, 1 July 1991 185

CHRONOLOGY

15 May 1991-15 August 1991 187

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 202

Vol. XXI, No. 2 Winter 1992 Issue 82

ARTICLES

Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History ..... *Beshara B. Doumani* 5
Observations on the Right of Return ..... *Rashid I. Khalidi* 29
The Likud Party: A Primer ..... *Elfi Pallis* 41

Debate on the 1948 Exodus
Rejoinder to Benny Morris ..... *Norman Finkelstein* 61

Report from Washington
High Noon in Washington: The Shootout over the Loan Guarantees ..... *Leon T. Hadar* 72

Special Report
The Economic Impact of the Israeli Loan Guarantees ..... *Sheldon L. Richman* 88

RECENT BOOKS 96

Simon: The Middle East and North Africa: Essays in Honor of J.C. Hurewitz *reviewed by Roger Owen* 96
Sharabi: Theory, Politics and the Arab World: Critical Responses *reviewed by Irene Gendzier* 97
Fraser: The USA and the Middle East Since World War 2 *reviewed by Alan R. Taylor* 98
Troen and Shemesh: The Suez-Sinai Crisis 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal *reviewed by Howard J. Dooley* 99
Peretz: Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising *reviewed by Emile A. Nakhleh* 101
Emerson: Gaza: A Year in the Intifada—A Personal Account from an Occupied Land *reviewed by Inea Bushnaq* 103
Black and Morris: Israel's Secret Wars: A History of Israel's Intelligence Services *reviewed by Kathleen Christison* 104
Cohen: Truman and Israel *reviewed by Muhammad Hallaj* 105
Minerbi: The Vatican and Zionism: Conflict in the Holy Land, 1895-1925 *reviewed by George Emile Irani* 107
Israeli: Palestinians Between Israel and Jordan: Squaring the Triangle *reviewed by Israel Shahak* 108
Dershowitz: Chutzpah *reviewed by Leon T. Hadar* 109
Breines: Tough Jews *reviewed by Elmer Berger* 112
Shorter Notices 114

SPECIAL DOCUMENT FILE

The Madrid Peace Conference 117

Winter 1992

DOCUMENTS AND SOURCE MATERIAL 150

International

A1. French President François Mitterrand, Remarks on the Peace Process, Paris, 7 September 1991 150

Arab

B1. 20th Palestine National Council Meeting, Political Statement, Algiers, 28 September 1991 151

B2. PLO Executive Committee Membership, Algiers, 28 September 1991 155

Israel

C1. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Address to the Knesset Concerning the Peace Conference, Jerusalem, 7 October 1991 (excerpts) 156

United States

D1. President George Bush, Press Conference on the Loan Guarantees, Washington, D.C., 12 September 1991 (excerpts) 159

D2. NBC/Wall Street Journal, Poll Questions on the Middle East, 25 September 1991 163

D3. Letter from 225 U.S. Rabbis to Prime Minister Shamir, November 1991 163

D4. Wilstein Institute/ICR Survey Research Group, Opinion Survey of Council of Jewish Federations Leaders, November 1991 (excerpts) 164

CHRONOLOGY

16 August 1991-15 November 1991 167

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 190

LETTERS 202

Vol. XXI, No. 3 Spring 1992 Issue 83

ARTICLES

A Tale of Two Cities: The Rhodes and Lausanne Conferences, 1949 ..... *Neil Caplan* 5
The South Lebanon Border Zone: A Local Perspective ..... *Ahmad Beydoun* 35
Reflections on Palestinian Attitudes during the Gulf War ..... *Norman Finkelstein* 54
Thoughts on the Roots of the Arab-Israeli Conflict ..... *Georges Corm* 71
Special Report
The Israeli Labor Party: Peacemaker or Likud II? ..... *Leon T. Hadar* 80

RECENT BOOKS 95

Azar: Palestine: A Photographic Journey *reviewed by Inea Bushnaq* 95
Quigley: Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice *reviewed by James Fine* 96
Hunter: The Palestinian Uprising: A War by Other Means *reviewed by Rex Brynen* 98
Davies and Johnson: The Uzi and the Stone: Images of Gaza *reviewed by Sara Roy* 99
Rabinovich: The Road Not Taken: Early Arab-Israeli Negotiations *reviewed by Ian Lustick* 100
Sicker: Between Hashemites and Zionists: The Struggle for Palestine, 1908-1988 *reviewed by Mary C. Wilson* 102
Drysdale and Hinnebusch: Syria and the Middle East Peace Process *reviewed by Muhammad Muslih* 104
Lenczowski: American Presidents and the Middle East *reviewed by Fouad Moughrabi* 105
Cooley: Payback: America's Long War in the Middle East *reviewed by Donald Neff* 107
Drezon-Tepler: Interest Groups and Political Change in Israel *reviewed by Gideon Doron* 108
Ariel: On Behalf of Israel: American Fundamentalist Attitudes Toward Jews, Judaism, and Zionism 1865-1945 *reviewed by Grace Halsell* 110
Shorter Notices 111

HUMAN RIGHTS DOCUMENTS

Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991:
"Israel and the Occupied Territories" ..... *U.S. Department of State* 114
Human Rights Violations Summary Data by Month, 1991 ..... *PHRIC* 125

SPECIAL DOCUMENT FILE

The Peace Process 126

Spring 1992

DOCUMENTS AND SOURCE MATERIAL 147

International

A1. UN General Assembly, Resolution 3379 (XXX) on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, New York, 10 November 1975 147
A2. UN General Assembly, Roll Call Vote Repealing Resolution 3379, New York, 16 December 1991 148
A3. UN Security Council, Resolution 726 on Palestinian Deportations, New York, 6 January 1992 148
A4. Statement by the Heads of the Churches in the Holy Land, Jerusalem, 14 January 1992 148
A5. UN Security Council, Statement on Violence in Lebanon, New York, 19 February 1992 149

Israel

B1. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Address to Likud Central Committee, Tel Aviv, 22 December 1991 (excerpts) 150
B2. Peace Now, "Israel's Settlement Activities," Jerusalem, 22 January 1992 150
B3. Council of Jewish Settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, Data on Construction in Territories, 22 January 1992 (excerpts) 158

United States

C1. Wall Street Journal, A Case of Industrial Espionage, New York, 17 January 1992 158
C2. Senator Patrick Leahy, "The Leahy Formula" on Israeli Loan Guarantees, Washington, D.C., 22 January 1992 (excerpts) 163
C3. Open Statement of Religious Leaders to President Bush, Washington, D.C., 29 January 1992 163
C4. General Accounting Office, "Israel: U.S. Loan Guaranties for Immigrant Absorption," Washington, D.C., 12 February 1992 (excerpts) 164
C5. Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, Hearings on the Israeli Housing Loan Guarantees, Washington, D.C., 24 February 1992 (excerpts) 169
C6. Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Hearings on the Israeli Housing Loan Guarantees, Washington, D.C., 25 February 1992 (excerpts) 173

CHRONOLOGY

16 November 1991–15 February 1992 180

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 195

Vol. XXI, No. 4 Summer 1992 Issue 84

ARTICLES

The June War: Whose Conspiracy? ..... *Richard B. Parker* 5
Negotiating Self-Government Arrangements ..... *Rajo Shehadeh* 22
Israeli Settlement in the Old City of Jerusalem ..... *Michael Dumper* 32
The U.S.-PLO Dialogue: The Swedish Connection ..... *Mohamed Rabie* 54

Special Report

Christian Churches and the Palestine Question ..... *Duncan L. Clarke and Eric Flohr* 67

Report from Washington

The Last Days of Likud: The American-Israeli Big Chill ..... *Leon T. Hadar* 80

RECENT BOOKS 95

Seikaly: Quest for Understanding: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Malcolm Kerr *reviewed by Majid Khadduri* 95
Gilbar: Ottoman Palestine, 1800–1914: Studies in Economic and Social History *reviewed by Beshara Doumani* 96
Kunstel and Albright: Their Promised Land: Arab and Jew in History's Cauldron—One Valley in the Jerusalem Hills *reviewed by Kathleen Christison* 98
Aruri: Occupation: Israel over Palestine *reviewed by Joost R. Hiltermann* 100
Hudson: The Palestinians: New Directions *reviewed by Ann M. Lesch* 101
Brynen: Echoes of the Intifada: Regional Repercussions of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, *and* Freedman: The Intifada: Its Impact on Israel, the Arab World, and the Superpowers *reviewed by Muhammad Hallaj* 102
Penslar: Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918 *reviewed by Gershon Shafir* 103
Mahler: Israel after Begin *reviewed by Don Peretz* 105
Kipper and Saunders: The Middle East in Global Perspective *reviewed by Fred H. Lawson* 106
Shorter Notices 109

SPECIAL DOCUMENTS

Human Rights Watch World Report 1992: "The Israeli-Occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip ..... *Middle East Watch* 113
Senator Byrd on Loan Guarantees and U.S.-Israeli Relations ..... *Robert Byrd* 130

DOCUMENTS AND SOURCE MATERIAL 140

International

A1. European Community, Statement on the Middle East Peace Process, Lisbon, 17 February 1992 140
A2. United Nations Security Council, Statement Condemning Rafah Killings, New York, 4 April 1992 140

Summer 1992

Arab

B1. Palestinian Personalities, Memorandum on the Peace Process Addressed to Palestinian Leadership, 14 March 1992 141

B2. Hani al-Hasan, Critique of Palestinian Peace Strategy, Tunis, mid-March 1992 (excerpts) 142

B3. PLO Central Council, Statement on the Peace Process, Tunis, 10 May 1992 (excerpts) 149

B4. Palestine Human Rights Information Center (PHRIC), "Targeting to Kill: Israel's Undercover Units," Jerusalem, May 1992 (excerpts) 153

Israel

C1. Peace Now, "Follow-up Report by the Settlement Watch Committee," Jerusalem, 15 April 1992 161

C2. Labor Party Chairman Yitzhak Rabin, Interviews, 17 and 20 April 1992 (excerpts) 163

United States

D1. Secretary of State James Baker, Letter to Faisal Husseini, Washington, D.C., 10 February 1992 167

D2. State Department Office of Inspector General, "Report of Audit: Department of State Defense Trade Controls," Washington, D.C., 1 April 1992 (excerpts) 167

D3. United States Senate, Resolution 277 on Israeli Loan Guarantees, Washington, D.C., 1 April 1992 171

D4. State Department Office of Legislative Affairs, "Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Territories," Washington, D.C., 1 May 1992 171

D5. State Department Spokesperson Margaret Tutwiler, Comments on UN Resolution 194, Washington, D.C., 12, 13, and 18 May 1992 (excerpts) 173

CHRONOLOGY

16 February–15 May 1992 176

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 193